1:Haskins K-4,5 (1952-1954)1956 SO11 Bahia Brazilians SO11
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Northeast Brazil SO1

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[14]See section by Charles Wagley in Wagley, op. cit., pp. 148-149.

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[15]Smith, op. cit., pp. 637-640, citing Anuário Estatístico do Brasil-1939/40, states that there were 687 church marriages for each civil marriage in Bahia. The number of common law marriages is, obviously, not precisely known. Brazilian statutes do not permit divorce from civil marriage.

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[16]The chief exception to this social pattern is during Carnaval, when people of all classes "let themselves go." However, it is mainly the adolescents of the upper class who, for the moment, escape from the rigid social code of their class.

[17]As a consequence of the high mobility of the lower class, many of these community or neighborhood identifications are transitory. However, because of the free social intercourse within the class, the local relationships are quickly established and easily maintained. The core of local identification and of the community or neighborhood seems to be maintained primarily by the more stable upper-stratum of the class.

[18]The industries, trading houses, and exporters of Salvador are concerned to a large degree with agricultural products.

[19]For the United States, see Smith, op. cit., p. 221. For Brazil, calculated from the 1940 census.

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[20]A special statement is required because the problems of deriving data for population in this region profoundly affect the reliability of the demographic analysis. At the time this analysis was made, only incomplete and preliminary population data from the 1950 census had been published. Total population data by political units—municípios and distritos—and by "urban" places were available. It was necessary to estimate the agricultural occupational data. The 1950 agricultural labor force was projected from the 1940 data on the basis of changes in the rural population. Because the agricultural labor force and the rural population of which it is a part are subject to approximately the same social and economic forces, it was assumed that the change in the latter could be used to project the 1950 size of the former. The tables showing the derivation of the agricultural labor force for 1950 are based upon this procedure.

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[21]In 1940 the composition of this occupational group—based upon a combination of population census and agricultural census data—for the state of Bahia was approximately as follows:

Independent operators	44 per cent
Members of family	27 per cent
Employees	24 per cent
Employers	2 per cent
Non-owner administrators	2.5 per cent

Thus less than 5 per cent of the agricultural labor force were administrators; the others were either cultivators, vaqueiros, or agricultural laborers. In the Recôncavo the administrative group probably was relatively smaller.

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[22]In a region of such large statistical areas and diverse physical resources, it is almost inevitable that mean figures for some municípios, such as Feira de Santana, Alagoinhas, Irará, or, most of all, Santo Amaro,

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277 the more expensive varieties are hand made. The fillers and inner wrappers of the cigars are made from local tobaccos. Local leaf also [439] is used to a very limited extent for the outer wrappers, but almost all of the high quality cigars are made from wrapper leaf imported [471] from Havana, Sumatra, or the Connecticut Valley. The ownership of all the cigar factories is concentrated in three companies, all of which [439] have their headquarters in Salvador. The cigars produced in the Recôncavo are sold throughout Brazil.

182 43 44 184 Conclusion. Many of the features of the systems of marketing, transportation, and processing which are characteristic of the Recôncavo are effective in unifying the region. In particular, the centralized marketing and economic control of the production and processing of tobacco and sugar draw both the tobacco and manioc region and the sugar cane region closer to Salvador. At the same time, the differences in marketing techniques and the separate channels of control which are associated with these two products accentuate the sub-regional pattern 182 of the two crop regions. The system of general marketing exemplified 438 443 by the municipal markets might at first glance seem to be a focus 184 for local rather than regional interests. However, as has been seen, there are itinerant merchants who pass from market to market throughout the Recôncavo. Moreover, the major public markets, such as Feira de Santana and Salvador, draw large numbers of people from most of the rural sections. Even the local marketing institutions contribute to the identification of the people of this area with the region.

VILA RECÔNCAVO

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constantly growing, or at least changing. New members are added, people who have made their mark on the society and who, although they have less family tradition behind them, are on the whole acceptable to the elite.

Locally the upper-class members are addressed by the formal term o senhor and a senhora, at times by meu patrão or meu branco (my white), frequently by title name, such as "Dr. Louis," and in some cases by the traditional intimate term of yoyô (for a man) and yayá (for a woman). At times even the very formal, older term of Vossa Excelencia (Your Excellency) is used. Yoyô is an old term formerly used by some slaves toward their masters, and although it is generally restricted to white people, there are occasions when a member of a mulatto family is known to his intimates as yoyô. With rare exceptions, members of the upper class address all those below them simply as você, and usually use the imperative form of the verb in giving directions. These two linguistic devices tend to strengthen and maintain the differences between these groups of people.

565* 576 [182]

Relations between members of Class A and those below are simple. As has already been stated, the landowners avoid the town of Vila Recôncavo, and it is seldom that Class B town people are invited to a social gathering at a plantation or at the factory, so that these two classes are rarely in social contact. Since the rural Class B consists mainly of overseers and other employees of Class A, relationships between them are those of employee and employer. However, when a planter celebrates a special occasion such as a birthday, the overseers are invited, and may "drop in" as a matter of form or courtesy; they escape as soon as possible, for they are rarely included in the brincadeiras (plays, or jokes) of the owners and their guests. For the most part the overseers and others of their class come alone, without their wives and families. This is an important indication of class position, for as a rule the wife of an overseer feels embarrassed in the company of gente (people) and refuses to go even when specially invited. The very strong em familia pattern, combined with the intimacy of the large families, makes it extremely difficult for a lower-class person to feel any sort of equality at such a gathering.

565* 571 [466]

During the course of field work the author was given a party, a Reis, a kind of surprise party which takes place during the period following the sixth of January, the Day of Kings.

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4; Pierson Z-4, 5 (1935-1937) 1967
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drums is accelerating. Another *filha*, a large but agile Negro woman, strikes out at the girl with her bare hands, and the two dance about, fighting a mock fight, while the beat of the drums becomes even more rapid and tumultuous until, just as the dancers close in upon one another where, it seems, harm might result, other *filhas* swing quickly in, catch each woman around the waist, and draw them apart, while the music slackens its tempo.

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All the *filhas* begin to dance again, their arms swinging from side to side, the index finger of the right hand held closely pressing against the thumb of the left. The dancing is very animated. Suddenly, one of the *filhas*, her shoulders heaving violently back and forth, begins to sink upon her knees and, gradually lowering her heaving shoulders to the floor, turns over on her back, all the while keeping the index finger of her right hand firmly in contact with the thumb of her left. She then slowly rises, gets to her feet, and again joins the other *filhas*. An *ogan* says this dance is known as *ecú*.

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The dances continue, rockets burst outside, confetti and flower petals are thrown over the initiates, and, at the insistent invocations of the drums and the spirited singing of the *filhas*, many *orixás* "arrive" and "take possession" of their human intermediaries.

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The primary social function which the *candomblé* appears to serve is that of reinforcing, by way of the collective experiences of ritual and ceremony, those attitudes and sentiments which distinguish the *Africanos* and their descendants from the European population and from the major portion of the mixed-bloods. By promoting a measure of solidarity and group consciousness, it tends to slow up the process of acculturation. At the same time cult experiences

4: Pierson Z-4, 5 (1935-1937) 1967
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help to satisfy the basic human needs for recognition and response. The resolution of all sorts of personal problems by way of the advice and counsel of the priest, priestess, or "manifesting" *orixá*, relieves personal strain and tension. And the reassuring affirmations regarding personal destiny which the body of belief affords, particularly at such times of crisis as the death of an intimate friend or relative, contribute to the apparently universal need of a sense of security.

Moreover, cult experiences serve as cogent means of maintaining group morale and enforcing group sanctions. The genuinely wholesome character of the Bahian *Africanos*, with the exception perhaps of certain individuals connected with recently organized *caboclo* centers, stands in sharp contrast to the personal disorganization which, according to report, characterizes the Rio de Janeiro Negro, whose *candomblé* (known locally as the *macumba*) is now in such a state of disintegration that many unwholesome and even vicious practices have crept into its ritual.

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The Catholic church at Bahia, by exercising almost infinite patience and tact, has now incorporated into its organization all members of the Bahian fetish cults. Even the leaders of the *seitas* regularly attend Mass and, on occasion, participate, together with their entire *candomblé* personnel, in functions of the church. Thus, each year at an appointed time, *mãe de santo* Anninha takes her *filhas de santo*, dressed in their *bahiana* costumes, and her *ogans*, and attends Mass in Bomfim Church; as similarly does the *caboclo mãe de santo*, Sabina, in the *igreja* of Santo Antonio da Barra. Anninha, like certain other cult officials, is a member of a Catholic order. So far has the identification of many elements of the fetish tradition with Catholic ideology and practice now gone that to the simple minds of cult members

[SALVADOR]

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665 666 578 829 [646] This means that Brazilians born in other States have made careers in different parties of Bahia and have been elected to represent the Bahians at the legislative assembly of the State or at the national parliament. The same candidate, moreover, had been elected governor several years earlier, before this attribute of "foreigner" exerted a decisive influence in the fight led against him.

829 577 /20/ Brazilian customs condemn all social discrimination; the Bahians, particularly those of the more advanced groups, pride themselves on these traditions of tolerance and liberalism, and consider them proper for forming the very prototype of the cordial Brazilian man whom Gobineau describes: "to be very polished, gracious, very friendly," and whose qualities are defined by a Brazilian sociologist as a mixture of kindness, tolerance, and good manners. Life in Bahia is appreciated and envied by some, criticized by others for its slow rhythm, its lack of combativeness, its strict particularism, and for the thousand mechanisms that always work in a way to mitigate the antagonisms and the conflicts between groups and individuals. The French sociologist Roger Bastide said some years ago that it is good "that in Bahia very rapid progress is not at all prejudicial to the qualities of soul that make up its charm."

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641 829 186 What contributes a great deal toward mitigating the tensions between the groups that confront one another in the society of Bahia is the polarization of dissatisfaction that in all of Brazil, but especially in our city, takes place concerning the idea of "government," that is to say, public authorities in general, the population having the habit of discharging on them its aggressive impulses, imputing to this very vague entity all the evils that beset Bahia.

829 * 563 As for race relations, one may state that a certain antagonism exists between Blacks and mulattoes. There are, without doubt, some color prejudices in Bahia, but, as a moreno of liberal profession says, "prejudice is not only the doing of Whites; out of fear of being assimilated with the Blacks, the mulatto avoids them and draws closer to the Whites." A number of informants think that

[SALVADOR]

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The generally gentle and humane treatment that the owners reserved for their slaves and the efforts made by the Catholic clergy, from the beginning of the slave trade, to try to incorporate the /23/ Africans into the Catholic religion played an important role in the establishment of good relations between races in Bahia as throughout Brazil. Contrary to what occurred in the other colonial nations, where the aborigines and the imported slaves were kept in a state of segregation, like unassimilable "savages," in Brazil the natives and the Blacks were baptized, catechized, and admitted into the Church as men. Thus, numerous slaves, baptized Negroes, were no longer considered "beasts" and became "Christians," with the same title as the European colonists, having to endure neither hostility nor religious discrimination. They were taught the Christian doctrine, and the preachers endeavored to speak to them in their languages, chiefly in nagô, which had become a sort of lingua franca in which the Africans of different origins were able to understand one another. They intermarried; their marriage having been consecrated by the Church, this protected them when their masters intended to separate the spouses or sell one of the partners; they received the sacraments; they acted as witnesses in religious proceedings and participated as acolytes in religious ceremonies; they marched in the processions, carrying the standards and emblems of their brotherhoods; they were buried in the Christian cemeteries, the owners of slaves being obliged to call the priest in time to assist the dying. No one pretends by that to claim that their lives were free from suffering or that the Negroes were thus completely integrated in Catholicism. The clergy, the owners, and the civil authorities always allowed them some freedom concerning certain proceedings of their pagan cults and never forced them to embrace the official religion. They likewise permitted them to amuse themselves in their way by dances, songs, ceremonies (batuques), banquets in the manner of those of their countries of origin. From that comes this Catholicism somewhat mixed with fetishist beliefs and practices that constitutes the religion of a large part of the colored people of Bahia (1).

1. Roger Bastide, "Religion and the Church in